Changing Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Light of Worsening Economic Conditions in Portugal

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ABSTRACT

Portugal has experienced various structural changes in recent history which have greatly contributed to the country having a sizeable and varied immigrant population at present. The Global Economic Crisis of 2008 has severely impacted numerous countries in the European Union including Portugal. Conditions in Portugal had been gradually worsening, largely as a result of a stagnating national economy, where unemployment steadily increased in the years leading up to 2008. In the wake of the crisis, Portugal has experienced dramatic reductions in GDP, soaring unemployment rates and in particular regarding youth unemployment, social unrest and political instability. Further, the most vulnerable socioeconomic groups in Portugal have been worst affected, where social inequality, poverty and a whole array of other social issues have been exacerbated by the crisis and the austerity policies that were implemented in the wake of the economic crash. This thesis attempted to discover if attitudes towards immigrants have changed in light of worsening economic conditions in Portugal during three different time periods 2002-2006-2012, with a primary focus on the most recent period where conditions were most austere. Moreover, this research also sought to establish the determinants which influence attitudes towards immigrants over the same time period. Data was used from three rounds of the European Social Survey and in particular, round 1 (2002/2003), round 3 (2006/2007) and round 6 (2012/2013). Descriptive statistics and ordered logistic regressions were used in order to answer the research questions and realistic group conflict theory was utilised as a theoretical framework when analysing and explaining the findings. It was evident that attitudes towards immigrants have become more negative over the given time period and were indeed most pronounced in light of the recent economic crisis. It was also apparent that natives who were in greater competition with immigrants possessed the most pronounced levels of prejudice.

Keywords: Portugal, migration, immigrants, economic crisis, social relations, attitudes, prejudice.
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INTRODUCTION

The Global Economic Crisis of 2008 which largely began with the collapse of the investment bank Lehman Brothers in the United States (US), is arguably one of the most significant economic recessions the western world has experienced since the Wall Street Crash of the late 1920s. Many countries that have been most severely impacted by the crisis share common as well as individual characteristics with regards economic practices that account for their own economic downturn. The current particular crisis has highlighted the vulnerabilities that exist for many countries which are integrated and connected in the global economy. The effects of the crisis have been quite varied when examining countries in the European region and Portugal is one of numerous countries that has been severely impacted. In particular, in the wake of the crisis the country has experienced dramatic reductions in GDP, soaring unemployment rates and in particular youth unemployment, social unrest and political instability (Leahy et al 2013:32-5). Further, the most vulnerable socioeconomic groups in Portugal have been worst affected, where social inequality, poverty and whole array of other social issues have been exacerbated by the crisis and the austerity policies that were implemented by the International Monitory Fund (IMF) and European financial institutions as part of an economic rescue package (Leahy et al 2013:32-5).

Research Questions

Portugal was chosen for this study as it is a country that has experienced various structural changes in recent history which have greatly contributed to the country having a sizeable and varied immigrant population at present. When considering the country’s contemporary immigrant characteristics in combination with the most recent economic crisis provides an interesting context for the study of group relations in a given society. A primary research question for this thesis is to discover if attitudes towards immigrants have changed in light of worsening economic conditions in Portugal during three different time periods 2002-2006-2012, with a primary focus on the most recent period when conditions were most austere. Further, a second related question is as follows, what are the determinants which influence attitudes towards immigrants in Portugal over the same time period?

The present research is aiming to build upon previous literature that has concentrated on the impacts of the most recent economic crisis on group relations in the European region. There has been very few such studies conducted specifically on Portugal and the majority of research which has focused on the determinants of anti-immigrant attitudes in the context of the economic crisis has largely been cross country in nature.

The current research is important for policy makers, in that, it may assist in providing a more nuanced
understanding of the economic crisis and its impacts on group relations at a national level. Moreover, understanding the peculiarities that contribute to social tensions between groups in society is of paramount importance to those involved in the policy making process. In particular, such information can act as a vital tool for policy decisions and more specifically when policy makers are attempting to make informed decisions about implementing social policy that promotes a more healthy society. The following sections will be devoted to highlighting recent migration processes that have contributed to Portugal’s varied immigrant population at present. This will be followed by information on Portugal’s economy over the study period and the impacts of the most recent crisis. Later, the literature review will focus on relevant theories and previous research related to the topic. Finally, in the second half of the thesis, the data and methods will be presented followed by the results, discussion and conclusion.

**Portugal and Recent Migration Patterns**

Portugal has experienced numerous fluctuations with regards migration flows from the 1960s onwards and this has been the consequence of various processes. In particular, Portugal had a colonial empire and oppressive authoritarian regime prior to the 1970s, and during this period had high unemployment and austere living conditions which served as a significant migration push factor. There was a combination of factors that resulted in the collapse of the authoritarian regime, which was followed by the process of decolonisation. Democratisation and European integration followed which occurred during the 1970s-1980s and the political, social and economic landscape in Portugal was greatly transformed during this period (Royo 2005:112-13). Moreover, Royo (2005:112) contends that such developments resulted in quite substantial inflows of immigrants of African origin from the former colonies to Portugal, which continues at present and has had an important role in shaping the structures of the Portuguese immigrant population.

Since the mid-1970s there has been a dramatic increase in the number of individuals of foreign origin living in Portugal. In particular, in 1975 there were 31,000 foreigners registered (or 0.3 percent of the population); by 1989 this number had increased to 101,011, and it grew to 191,143 in 1999 (or 2 percent of the population) and more recently to 434,548 in 2003 (4.19 percent of the population) (Royo 2005:128). According to Peixoto (2009: 186) during the 1990s there was a very strong upsurge with regards migrant inflows to Portugal which was characterized by a new and diverse wave of migration which had a wide diversification of origins and in particular Eastern European immigration to Portugal was largely unexpected. As a consequence, the country acquired a large quantitative volume of immigrants in a relative short period of time (see fig 1). In 2006, there were about 437,126
foreigners living in Portugal with a legal status, representing about 4% of the total population, which can be estimated that foreigners represent around 5% of the labour force not including irregular workers (Peixoto et al 2009: 181). Peixoto et al (2009: 180) contend that recent immigrant inflows to Portugal have been primarily linked with the labour market and in this regard Portugal is dissimilar from other European host countries (excluding Southern European) given the high proportion of labour-related immigration where immigrant activity rates are often higher than that of natives. Those that comprise the bulk of the foreign population in the most recent migration phase are mainly from Eastern Europe, Brazil and former African colonies (Castles et al 2014:114). More specifically, figures from the OECD in 2012 in Castles et al (2014:115) indicate that the most sizable immigrant groups in contemporary Portugal are mainly: Brazilians (120,000), Ukrainians (50,000), Cape Verdenes (45,000), Romanians (37,000) and Angolans (24,000).

**Fig 1**

![Net change, Natural increase, Net migration in thousands for Portugal 1990-2012](source: Pordata*)

*(The Database of Contemporary Portugal is dedicated to the collection, compilation, systematization and dissemination of data concerning multiple areas of society in Portugal and its municipalities, as well as for other European countries where reported statistics derive from official and certified sources).
There are certain patterns that can be identified when examining immigrant groups based on nation of origin and their concentration in various employment sectors in Portugal. In particular, European immigrants and more specifically those that originate from Western Europe are often highly skilled professionals. This is in contrast to the majority of other groups (with the partial exception of Brazilians) which largely tend to be attracted to predominately unskilled sectors such as construction, cleaning, retail, and hospitality (Fonseca et al 2005:10). The construction sector employs significant numbers of immigrants from the dominant groups of the first immigration wave (the citizens from Portuguese-Speaking Countries of Africa, known as Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa or PALOP citizens) and also from the dominant groups of the last immigration wave, particularly from Eastern Europe (Fonseca et al 2005:10). According to Fonseca et al (2005:10) the second most prominent sector of employment for the PALOP workers is the low-skilled service sectors, where in contrast Eastern Europeans, are over-represented in manufacturing (a sector which is relatively new to the employment of immigrants).

There were certain conditions and factors that contributed to developments concerning one of the most recent migration phases in Portugal. Peixoto (2009: 203) contends that there was an increasing availability of low-skilled jobs as well as the diffusion of flexible forms of work which essentially provided sufficient migration pull factors. In particular, the growth of low-skilled jobs in labour intensive industries were located in the expanding service sector (commerce, hotels and catering, cleaning and caring), as well as in other economic sectors (construction and, in a lesser degree, manufacturing and agriculture), provided fertile conditions for increased foreign labour demand (Peixoto 2009: 203). It is apparent that increased immigration was a response to greater labour demands and a report by the OECD contends that integration into the labour market was almost automatic, however at the price of a high incidence of over qualification among the immigrant population (OECD 2008:316). In contrast to the low-skilled immigration of the past, a significant number of recent immigrants, particularly of those from Eastern Europe are highly qualified. Nevertheless, these immigrants have often been employed in low-skilled occupations and approximately 90% of highly-qualified immigrants from Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are working in occupations for which they are overqualified (OECD 2008:319).
Economic Conditions in Portugal during the 2000s until the crisis

Since the fall of the authoritarian regime in the 1970s living standards have greatly improved during the decades that followed. In particular, during the 1990s, there was development in a variety of areas, private investment increased, productivity grew, general access to public education was achieved and a national health service was consolidated and in the very early years of 2000s Portugal had one of the lowest unemployed rates in the European Union (EU) (Castells et al 2012:9). However, despite this progress Portugal still had a fragile economy and the situation largely changed from this period onwards. In the year 2000, Portugal was a rich country by world standards, but one of the poorest of the 12 countries that initially formed the euro area. Between 2000 and 2007, real GDP per capita only grew by 4.3 percent, for a 0.6 percent annual growth rate, which is quite low when comparing to other developed countries (Reis 2013:149). Consumption grew faster than output during this period, and real wages increased in spite of rising unemployment and essentially the country was going through a slump, where consumers and workers bore the consequences (Reis 2013:149). Unemployment rates in Portugal increased steadily as the decade progressed (see Fig 2), which was largely the result of a stagnating economy in the years prior to the economic crisis of 2008.

Unemployment Rates in Portugal for males and Females 2002-2012

Source: Eurostat
The Impacts of the most recent economic crisis

Blanchard (2006) in Pedrosa (2014: 2) indicates that the prognosis for the Portuguese economy was pessimistic even before the most recent global financial crisis began. In particular, the chief economist at the IMF had described Portugal as a country that had issues with regards low economic growth and a large budget deficit with the likely prospect of competitive disinflation. The liquidity crunch in financial markets intensified and took hold in the latter half of 2007, and Portuguese banks were seriously affected which already had high levels of external debt. The Lehman Brothers bankruptcy exacerbated and intensified the crisis with an immediate recessionary impact with negative growth in the third and fourth quarters of 2008 threatened to send Portugal into a deep crisis (Pedrosa 2014: 2).

In 2009, the government introduced a stimulus package which prevented the country temporarily from going into recession. Initially the stimulus package shielded certain employment sectors, such as the construction industry, where large projects were launched including the construction of new school buildings and other public works (Pedrosa 2014:4-7). However, there was a change of strategy at both government and EU levels from 2010/2011 onwards and austerity measures were implemented in order to bring government deficit under control. In 2005, the government deficit was -6.5% of GDP and was -3.1% in 2007, when the global financial crisis occurred, a drop in tax revenues led to further increases in government deficit and general gross debt. At 108.1% in 2011, Portugal had the third highest general government gross debt to GDP ratio in Europe (EU27), which was only behind Greece and Italy (Leahy et al 2013:32)

In 2011 Portugal became the third country in the EU to seek a bailout from the EU-ECB-IMF troika and austerity measures were implemented hereafter creating difficult conditions in many sectors of society (Leahy et al 2013:32-5). According to Pedrosa (2014:7-13) the crisis impacted upon all economic sectors, however, there was different levels of intensity. In particular, some of the most severely impacted areas were low skill sectors including the construction and manufacturing industries, where the youth population and precarious workers were primarily located. Further, Leahy et al (2013:32-5) indicates that the most vulnerable in society were worst impacted by austerity policies. In particular, there were significant cuts in the areas of welfare, pensions and healthcare resulting in exacerbating rates of poverty and inequality especially for the unemployed as well as children and the elderly.

Since 2008 unemployment figures increased significantly (see fig 2). More specifically, unemployment rates doubled over a 4 year period, which were around 8% in 2008 and steadily
climbed to 16% in 2012. Youth unemployment was already high before the financial crisis (see fig 3), which increased steadily from 15% in 2002 and hovers just over 20% in the years leading up to the financial crash. However, after 2008, unemployment rates increased rapidly from 21% to just under 38% in 2012. In 2012, Portugal had the fourth highest rate of youth unemployment in the EU behind, Spain, Greece and Latvia, and closely followed by Ireland (Leahy et al 2013:34). Essentially, conditions have become very difficult for certain groups in society as a result of the economic crisis and especially concerning groups that are of lower socioeconomic status. Competition for jobs and other resources in Portugal has steadily increased between 2002 and 2012 as a result of worsening economic conditions and most significantly in the years following the economic crisis. Such conditions provide fertile grounds for animosity and hostility to develop between groups in society and in particular with regards the native and immigrant population. Various theories and research has been built up over time that focus on such a phenomenon and will be discussed further in the following section.

Fig 3

![Unemployment Rates in Portugal for males and Females under 25](source: Eurostat)
LITERATURE REVIEW

This section will outline previous research related to various sources which often influence attitudes towards immigrants. In particular, the review maps out different strands of research that focus on specific themes which are relevant for this thesis. The various research and theories on the given topic are vast and cover a whole array of angles from numerous disciplines and are thus narrowed down for this chosen research topic.

Theoretical background

There has been various research conducted over time on group relations in society and many studies have examined the determinants which contribute to anti-immigrant sentiments. A theory that is ubiquitous in the study of prejudice and group relations is realistic group conflict theory (RGCT). This thesis will use Allport’s (1979:6) definition of prejudice, which is described as a "feeling, favourable or unfavourable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience". Some of the earliest studies on racial prejudice using RGCT were conducted by Blumer in the 1950s on American society. The main premise of the theory is that conflict heightens between the majority (native population) and minority group (immigrants) in society when areas of competition are intensified or exacerbated over scarce resources (eg employment sectors, education, housing, welfare) (Blumer 1958:5). In particular, the theory explains rising levels of prejudice based on changing conditions that exacerbate competition for scarce resources, which ultimately results in heightened prejudice among the majority group towards the minority group. Blumer (1958:5) indicates that there is a feeling of exclusive claim to certain areas of privilege among the majority group, which essentially gives them an advantage in society and in particular concerning the areas of property, education, employment, control over decision making in government, as well as the law making process. In this regard, acts or suspected acts that are interpreted as an attack on the natural superiority of the majority group, or an intrusion into their sphere of group exclusiveness, or an encroachment on their area of proprietary claim, are crucial in developing and shaping prejudice (Blumer 1958:5). The theory can be used to give an account of both micro and macro level determinants which contribute to anti-immigrant sentiments. In the following section, RGCT will be discussed in further detail in relation to micro level determinants which influence prejudice towards immigrants in combination with a review of the previous literature.
Previous Research on Individual Determinants of Attitudes

RGCT applied on a micro level, proposes that members of the majority group will be in greater competition with members of the minority group based on their socioeconomic position and negativity or hostility is a defence reaction to threats perceived. Individual majority group members and in particular those in lower socioeconomic positions, are more likely to find themselves in competition with immigrants who often have similar socioeconomic status, in areas of employment, housing and welfare. Consequently, members of the majority group are more likely to have more negative attitudes towards immigrants. Negative attitudes towards immigrants are often lower among the majority population during more prosperous economic periods and in particular when jobs are plentiful. However, when economic conditions worsen and especially during economic recessions, attitudes towards immigrants tend to become more negative and levels of prejudice increase. During such periods, perceptions of threat at an individual level are greatly influenced by the actual changing contextual or structural conditions in the given society. The following studies have a particular focus on explanatory factors that contribute to rises in anti-immigrant sentiments on the micro level and the findings of such papers are generally in line with the main assumptions of RGCT.

Gang et al (2002) cross national study examines individual determinants that influence attitudes towards immigrants (in this case non-European immigrants) in the European region using Eurobarometer surveys from 1988 and 1997. Their research shows that majority group members who found themselves in direct competition in the labour market with immigrants had more negative attitudes towards foreigners. This included the unemployed but also employed, salaried workers (who may perceive that their wages are negatively affected by immigrants), and the retired (who may have developed anti-foreigner attitudes in the past, when they were employees in the labour market), however, in contrast students possessed minimal anti-foreigner attitudes (Gang et al 2002:26).

Raijman et al (2003) conducted a cross country comparison on attitudes towards immigrants in Germany and Israel using data from ALLBUS in Germany 1996 and the Minorities Survey in Israel 1999. Their findings indicates that in each country the most significant determinant of support or denial for the rights of immigrants is based on perceptions of threat among the majority population. In particular, the perception of threat to socioeconomic well-being is most pronounced among the disadvantaged populations in both countries and as a result such individuals are most likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Similarly, Mayda (2004) cross national study examined individual level determinants which influence
attitudes towards immigrants. The author used two individual-level surveys from the World Values Survey 1995-1997 and the International Social Survey from 1995, where both surveys represented data from 22 countries worldwide. The findings specify that members of the majority group who had lower socioeconomic status and in particular individuals that were in similar employment positions perceived immigrants as a greater threat and as a consequence were likely to have more negative attitudes. The results also indicate that individuals among the majority group with higher skill levels were likely to be more positive towards immigrants in high per capita GDP countries as there is lower perceptions of threat and less competition between individuals in this regard, however this was not the case in low per capita GDP countries.

Card et al (2005) used data from the European Social Survey (ESS) (2002/3) for 24 countries in order to investigate public opinions about immigration, and the various dimensions of economic, public and private life that individuals feel are affected by immigration. The authors analyse a wide range of determinants that influence attitudes towards immigrants including, how responses to immigration-related questions differ according to individual characteristics including age, education, and labour force status and found a strong correlation between higher education and more favourable views toward immigration. Their findings also indicate a tendency for older people (or those born in earlier cohorts) to be less favourable toward immigration and generally attitudes are influenced by individuals’ employment status, religion, and whether the individual is of immigrant or ethnic minority descent (Card et al 2005:38).

O’Rourke & Sinnott (2006) cross country research examine the determinants of individual attitudes towards immigration using data from the 1995 International Social Survey Programme which represents data from 24 countries worldwide. Their findings specify that members of the majority group who have higher skills are less opposed to immigration than the low-skilled, and this effect is greater in richer countries than in poorer countries and in more equal countries than in more unequal ones. They indicate that attitudes towards immigration reflect nationalist sentiment among respondents and also generally found that old people have more pronounced anti-immigrant attitudes than the young in the selected countries (O’Rourke & Sinnott 2006:857).

Malchow-Møller et al (2008) in their study measure attitudes towards immigration based on individual characteristics from 15 European countries using data from the ESS 2002/3. Their findings show significant evidence of economic self-interest playing a role for individual attitudes towards immigration. In particular, members of the majority group who believe that wages are driven down by immigrants often have more negative attitudes and similarly, those who believe that immigrants
take jobs away, or are likely to be impacted by such a process are more opposed to immigration.

Similarly, Smith and Ciftci (2008) examined individual determinants of attitudes in the European region using data from the Eurobarometer (2003) and Eurostat as well as Benoit and Laver’s (2006) dataset on party positions. Their findings largely indicate that attitudes towards immigrants are often determined by both interests (immigrants are taking my job) and values (immigrants are taking my country) which is related to the perception of threat and competition. The authors also specify that individual attributes (e.g., education, occupation, and national attachment) are useful in predicting citizens’ anti-immigrant attitudes.

*Previous Research on Contextual Determinants of Attitudes*

RGCT can also be applied on a macro level, and in particular this is when contextual or structural factors influence attitudes towards immigrants in the form of actual competition. One of the most identified contextual determinant which influences attitudes towards immigrants is size of the outgroup population. In particular, when members of the minority group increase significantly in receiving societies, the level of competition over scarce resources increases and prejudice among the native population often rise as a reaction to the growth in actual competition in the given society. Similarly, economic conditions also have a significant role in influencing attitudes towards immigrants, and in particular, when economic conditions worsen (e.g., rising unemployment, decreasing GDP) competition is heightened between groups and prejudice towards the outgroup rises as a consequence.

Blalock (1967) conducted some of the earliest studies of ethnic relations between whites and blacks in the US and advanced on the work of Blumer. In particular, Blalock primarily focused on contextual determinants which influence attitudes towards out-groups, with an emphasis on actual competition in a given society. Blalock (1967) in Jackson (1992:90) argued that groups struggle towards dominance or to preserve a preferred position in society and essentially resources of the group will determine its success, which include group size, degree of cohesiveness and extent to which competing groups are fractioned. Similarly, political and financial resources are vital when preventing minority groups from advancing in society and resistance from the dominant group increases exponentially to the size or increasing size of the out group until the minority group has reached a majority or has obtained enough resources to secure its dominance and at this point resistance and protection efforts subside (Blalock (1967) in Jackson (1992:90).
Quillian (1995) conducted cross national studies on prejudice towards outgroups in 12 European countries using data from the Eurobarometer 1988. The author used both individual and contextual determinants that influence attitudes towards immigrants in his cross national study. The author proposed that collective threat is most often the function of two factors which include the numerical size of the subordinate group relative to the dominant group and economic circumstances (Quillian 1995:586). His findings indicate that the structural determinants which influence attitudes among the in-group in a negative manner were the size of the out-group and changing economic conditions and this was evident at a national and regional level. Quillian (1995:605-7) indicates that there is a weak link between micro level variables of prejudice and emphasises the importance of using both individual and structural variables to give a more nuanced understanding of prejudice among the native population and this is particularly true when determining cross national variations with regards levels of prejudice.

McLaren (2003) conducted research using data from 17 countries in the European region with a focus on macro level determinants that influence anti-immigrant attitudes. The author contends that when there is perceived threats to the national economy by the in-group, this acts as an important indicator in predicting levels of willingness to expel immigrants and merely feeling group threat to resources or to national symbols does translate into a willingness to expel the socially defined group (McLaren 2003:925). Similarly, Lahav (2004) conducted research on determinants which influence opinions towards immigrants in Europe using the Eurobarometer from 1997 and 1998 respectively. Lahav (2004:1167) indicates people’s assessments of immigration are tied to economic considerations and their attitudes are often based on structural conditions related to the national economy. Lahav (2004:1167-68) suggests, as EU citizens grow increasingly pessimistic about their nation’s future employment prospects, they also become more likely to believe there are too many non-EU foreigners residing among them.

Semyonov et al (2008) research uses data from the ESS for 21 countries in 2002/3. Their study analysed a number of micro and macro level determinants which contribute to anti-immigrant sentiments. Their analysis indicates that immigrants’ impact on society is viewed in most countries in negative rather than positive terms and negative views were most pronounced with regard to immigrants impact on crime and least pronounced with regard to foreigners’ impact on culture (Semyonov et al 2008:9). Negative views tend to be more pronounced among individuals who are socially and economically vulnerable as well as among individuals who hold conservative political ideologies. Their findings also indicate that negative attitudes toward foreigners tend to be more pronounced in countries characterized with large proportions of immigrants, where economic
conditions are less prosperous and support for right-wing political parties are more prevalent.

Schlueter & Scheepers (2010) national study used individual-level data from the Religion in Dutch Society Survey in 2000 to measure macro level determinants which influence anti-immigrant attitudes. Their findings indicate that perceptions of a larger immigrant group size among the majority group were associated with perceptions of threatened group interests, which in turn resulted in anti-immigrant attitudes. However, larger immigrant group size often facilitates intergroup contact, which was negatively associated with perceived threat and subsequent anti-immigrant attitudes (Schlueter & Scheepers 2010:285).

More recently a number of studies have focused their attention on the impacts of the economic crisis on native attitudes at a national and cross national level in the European region. In particular, Denny & Ó Gráda (2013) use the six rounds of the ESS (2002-2012) where they sought to identify a range of factors which influence attitudes towards immigrants in Ireland. In particular, they concentrate on the contextual factors such as changing economic conditions with a focus on the boom and subsequent economic crisis as well as the proliferation of immigration during the study period and how such factors influence attitudes. Their results specify that the economic downturn after 2007 had a negative impact on attitudes towards immigration while at the same time evidence indicated that Irish people have become more accepting of people from very different backgrounds.

Hatton (2014) explores the impact of changing economic conditions on perceptions towards immigrants with an emphasis on the most recent economic crisis at a cross national level. The author uses the six rounds of the ESS (2002-2012) in order to test the effects of economic shocks on immigration opinion for 20 European countries. His findings show that for Europe as a whole the shifts in average opinion have been remarkably mild, however trends in opinion have varied across countries, especially in the responses to a question on whether immigrants are good or bad for the economy. At the country level, pro-immigration opinion is negatively related to the share of immigrants in the population and to the share social benefits in GDP, but only weakly to rates of unemployment (Hatton 2014:1).

Most recently, Turner & Cross (2015) research uses the ESS and compares Irish attitudes towards immigrants in other European countries in light of changing macro conditions. In particular, they explore the trend in attitudes towards immigration across Europe with a principal focus on Ireland in the context of the current economic crisis. Their findings specify that in the 12 countries surveyed, aggregate mean attitudes in allowing access to immigrants and their perceived impact on the economy
and quality of life appear to have changed little between 2002 and 2010, although there were considerable fluctuations in attitudes towards immigration within the 12 countries examined. The authors argued that economic factors rather than group minority size were likely to be the dominant explanation for shifts in attitudes towards immigration and in particular when examining the Irish case. They also indicate that given the buoyant economic conditions between the 2002 and 2006 surveys, the absence of inter-group competition over scarce goods is likely to have encouraged positive sentiment about immigration and the effects of immigrants on the economy and society in Ireland during this period (Turner & Cross 2015: 389-391).

It must be noted that there is not total convergence with regards previous research concerning macro level determinants which influence attitudes towards immigrants. In particular, Sides & Citrin (2007:478) research highlights that there is variation across countries in the European region in both the level and predictors of opposition to immigration which are mostly unrelated to contextual factors including the level of immigration into a country and the overall state of its economy. Similarly, Strabac & Listhaug (2008:268) indicates that size of the out-group population does not significantly influence attitudes towards immigrants. In particular, the size of the Muslim population in European nations does not seem to increase the level of anti-Muslim prejudice which is contrary to assumptions in the previous literature regarding the relationship between increased prejudice and the size of the out group population. Moreover, Schneider (2008) research focuses on ethnic competition as a contextual explanation of cross-national differences in anti-immigrant prejudice. The main conclusions of the study are that economic and social competition between groups might play a lesser role in the explanation of cross-national differences in anti-immigrant attitudes than often is assumed, and that it might be rather lacking familiarity and fear of conflict over values and culture that drive the relationship between outgroup size and anti-immigrant attitudes (Schneider 2008:53).

Another stream of research has focused on the rising support for right-wing parties in Europe as a consequence of changing structural conditions. Europe has seen the rise in electoral support for anti-immigrant far right parties in numerous countries over recent decades, which can be viewed in light of changing socioeconomic conditions. In particular, Pettigrew (1998:91) study at a European level indicates that by the 1980s, the new Europeans elicited an increasingly hostile reaction from sectors of the native populations who felt especially threatened and throughout Western Europe, extreme right-wing groups seized on the threat as their central issue. Pettigrew (1998:91) contends that in each election for the European Parliament, the average vote for anti-immigration parties has risen from—3.4% in 1979, to 4.9% in 1984 to 5.1% in 1989. By 1994, with an average of 11.1% unemployment in the European Union, the far-right parties garnered 6.9% of the vote and 25 seats (3 from Belgium,
11 each from France and Italy) and a close relationship is found across countries between the extreme right’s share of the European Parliament votes and unemployment (Baimbridge et al 1994, 1995) in Pettigrew (1998:91).

Similarly, Lubbers et al., (2002:371) from their study at a European wide level show that the number of non-European Union citizens did affect levels of extreme right-wing voting in a country. Their research also specifies that people who perceive immigrants as competitors are more likely to express exclusionary reactions including voting for the extreme right, however, unemployment levels did not have the expected effect. Lubbers et al. study highlights that exclusionary reactions towards out-groups are proclaimed in extreme right-wing programmes and this may increase the likelihood of voting for extreme right-wing parties when competition between groups increases such as during an economic recessions or when the immigrant population significantly increases.

Finally, Guibernau (2010:5) identifies a number of important factors that have contributed to increased electorate support for anti-immigrant parties in Europe over recent decades. In particular, the author indicates that from an economic standpoint there is often a perception among natives that immigrants come to their countries to “steal” their jobs as well as the view that asylum seekers and refugees receive greater social benefits than natives, which in turn contributes to increasing resentment towards the state and society as a whole (Guibernau 2010:5). Further, Guibernau (2010:7-8) contends that there is often a lack of trust in politics or political systems in European societies where a desire for change exists among certain groups of voters with regards immigrant issues and the parties that listen to the fears of voters on such issues are often right wing parties.

This thesis will use RGCT as an explanatory tool when conducting the analysis at a later stage. Such theoretical models were chosen based on their strengths and explanatory capabilities in relation to the chosen topic. In particular, when reviewing the literature, it is apparent that such theories have proved to be highly effective in assisting social scientists over time when explaining the causes and consequences of prejudice between groups in society. When reviewing the most recent research on the economic crisis in Europe, Turner & Cross (2015:390) indicate that more nuanced work is required to specify the theoretical and empirical relationships between unemployment, the economic health of a country and the formation of attitudes towards immigration and a significant gap in current literature exists as to how these various factors interact in forming attitudes. This study is seeking to fill that gap on the subject area by conducting research at a national level and focusing on characteristics which are specific to Portugal and how such characteristics impact upon the formation of attitudes towards immigrants in this regard.
Hypotheses

The hypotheses are formed on the general assumptions of RGCT. In particular, it is predicted that attitudes towards immigrants in Portugal will become most negative in 2012, when compared to previous years (H1). This is essentially a result of changing structural conditions and more specifically the most recent economic crisis, where actual competition between groups has greatly intensified. Similarly, natives who find themselves in greater competition with immigrants will possess the most pronounced negative attitudes as they perceive immigrants as a greater threat to scarce resources in society (eg jobs, welfare) (H2). In particular, those who have less education will be more likely to have pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. More specifically, respondents who have less education are more likely to be in a lower socioeconomic category and as a consequence will find themselves in greater competition with immigrants in a whole array of areas in society and thus perceptions of threat and ultimately heightened prejudice is a defence reaction to the given situation. Likewise, male respondents will hold higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants as the industries that were worst impacted by the crisis in terms of job losses were predominantly concentrated with male workers (eg construction, manufacturing). Moreover, respondents who are struggling to greater degrees in relation to household income will exhibit pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. More specifically, many respondents that fall into such a category often have a lower socioeconomic position in society and are thus more likely to find themselves in greater competition with immigrants over a whole range of resources. Finally, respondents who are pessimistic about the economy will possess heightened levels of prejudice towards immigrants. In particular, respondents who are in such a category will be more likely to perceive immigrants as competition and as a possible economic threat in relation to various aspects of their lives and heightened prejudice is a reaction to such perceived threats.
DATA AND METHOD

Data Overview

The data that will be used for this thesis is from the European Social Survey. The ESS is an academically driven nationally representative cross-national survey that is conducted every two years in countries in the European region which began in 2001 (europeansocialsurvey.org 2015). Random probability sampling is used to obtain data which is nationally representative, where face to face interviews are one of the main methods of data collection. The ESS main aim is to be representative of the residential population of each participating nation aged 15 years and above (with no upper age limit), regardless of their nationality, citizenship or legal status. The term ‘resident’ is defined as anyone who has been living in the country for at least a year and who has no immediate concrete plans to return to his or her country of origin (europeansocialsurvey.org 2015).

The existing database currently has 6 rounds ranging from 2002 (round 1) to 2012 (round 6). The survey covers a whole array of themes and has rich data concerned with society, politics and the economy and core questions are repeated in each respective round which provides a great source of information for researchers when comparing certain variables over time at a national and cross national level. More specifically the survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of diverse populations in more than thirty nations over different time periods (europeansocialsurvey.org 2015).

This thesis will use three rounds of the ESS and in particular, round 1 (2002/2003), round 3 (2006/2007) and round 6 (2012/2013). The ESS rounds were chosen in order to examine changing attitudes towards immigrants over the given time period. In particular, economic conditions gradually worsened in the earlier rounds followed by the economic crisis in the latest round and this essentially provides an interesting context for the study of group relations in Portugal. Respondents were removed from the dataset who were not born in Portugal, as the aim of the study is to measure changing attitudes of natives over the chosen time periods and having such respondents in the sample may skew the findings. Information for each respective round was obtained through questionnaires from face to face interviews. Round 1 contains 1 511 respondents from the sample in Portugal and the response rate was 68.81%. 90 respondents were born elsewhere and thus were removed leaving a total of 1421 individuals for round 1. Field work was carried out between September 2002 and January 2003. Round 3 comprised of 2 222 respondents and had a response rate of 72.76%. 139 respondents were born elsewhere and 5 refused to answer and thus were removed leaving a total of
2078 individuals for round 3. Field work was carried out between October 2006 and February 2007. Round 6 had 2 151 samples and has a response rate of 77.12%. 132 respondents were born elsewhere and thus were removed, leaving a total of 2019 individuals for round 6. Field work was carried out between October 2012 and March 2013 (europeansocialsurvey.org 2015). The three rounds were downloaded from the ESS website and merged to create a master dataset, where the appropriate weights were applied and analysis was conducted using the STATA statistical software program.

**Variables**

**Dependent Variables**

The ESS has a core module that asks numerous questions relating to participants attitudes and perceptions concerning immigration, which are repeated in each respective round. This thesis will use four core questions which are concerned with the topic of immigration as dependent variables, all of which are categorical and more specifically such variables are of an ordinal nature. The first two questions pertain to attitudes regarding immigration and more specifically if respondents would allow immigrants to come live in Portugal based on various criteria. The first dependent variable refers to whether participants would consider allowing immigrants based on a different identity and ethnicity as the native group to come and live in Portugal. This variable was relabelled where higher values correspond to more positive attitudes towards immigrants, whereas lower values pertain to more negative attitudes, which is as follows 1 "Allow none" 2 "Allow a few" 3 "Allow some" 4 "Allow many". Missing variables and respondents that did not know how to answer the question were dropped from the study as there were too few respondents in such categories to influence the results and analysis at a later stage and will not be included as a new category as a result. The second dependent variable refers to whether participants would consider allowing immigrants from poorer countries outside of Europe to come and live in Portugal. The variable was relabelled where again higher values correspond to more positive attitudes towards immigrants, whereas lower values pertain to more negative attitudes, and in particular, 1 "Allow none" 2 "Allow a few" 3 "Allow some" 4 "Allow many". Similarly, missing values and those that did not know how to answer were dropped from the study as there were not enough respondents to form a new category and will not be included as a consequence.

The remaining two questions refer to deeper issues that respondents may have about the impact of immigration on the economy and society in Portugal. In particular, the third dependent variable considers how respondents perceive immigrants in relation to the economy in Portugal. This variable
was measured on a 0 to 10 point scale, where 0 represented bad for economy and 10 signified good for economy. The variable was relabelled where higher values correspond to more positive attitudes towards immigrants (6-10) whereas lower values pertain to more negative attitudes (0-4). The midpoint (5) was relabelled as ‘neutral’ and the category ‘does not know’ was kept for this variable as there were a significant number of respondents in this instance and was coded in the following order, 1 "bad for economy" 2 "neutral" 3 "good for the economy" 4 "does not know". The fourth and final dependent variable considers how respondents perceive immigrants in relation to the general society in Portugal. The variable was also measured on a 0 to 10 point scale, where 0 represented bad for country and 10 signified good for country and was relabelled identical to the previous variable where higher values correspond to more positive attitudes towards immigrants whereas lower values pertain to more negative attitudes, and in particular, 1 "bad for country" 2 "neutral" 3 "good for the country" 4 "does not know". Finally, the chosen dependent variables will be treated as categorical variables when conducting the analysis at a later stage.

**Independent Variables**

A series of variables will be used in order to explain changing attitudes in Portugal over the given time period at a more nuanced level. The first group of independent variables were chosen as such variables are known to influence attitudes and beliefs with regards different issues concerning society and the economy and this was particularly evident when reviewing previous research on the chosen topic. In particular, the socio-demographic variables that will be used as control variables are respondents age and the squared term of age, both of which are continuous variables. The impact of gender will be measured, which is a binary variable, takes a value of 1 if the respondent is a female and 0 if the individual is a male. The continuous variable respondents years of education will also be used, where values range from 0-30 years. The values ‘refusal’ and ‘don’t know’ as well as ‘no answer’ were dropped from this variable as there were too few respondents to form a new category and will not be included as a consequence. The various essrounds will also be used to highlight the changes in attitudes towards immigrants over the given time periods and when examining these variables in the regression model at a later stage, round 3 (2006/2007) will be used as a reference category.

The remaining independent variables are concerned with respondents subjective perceptions concerning household income and the state of the economy, both variables are categorical and more specifically are of an ordinal nature. Both variables were chosen as they have not been used very often in previous research, which provides an interesting opportunity to test their influence on the
dependent variables in this study. Higher values of respondents subjective perception of their household income, indicate that individuals are finding it difficult to cope with regards their household income, whereas low values signify that respondents are doing much better in this regard and in particular the categories are, 1 ‘Living comfortably on present income’ 2 ‘Coping on present income’ 3 ‘Difficult on present income’ 4 ‘Very difficult on present income’. Again, missing values and individuals that did not answer were dropped as there were so few respondents in these instances and will not be included as a new category as a result. At a later stage when examining this variable in the regression model the value 1 ‘Living comfortably on present income’, will be used as a reference category. The final variable, respondents subjective perception of the national economy, refers to how satisfied individuals are with the present state of the economy and values range from (0) ‘extremely dissatisfied’ to (10) ‘extremely satisfied’. The variable was relabelled where lower values (0-4), correspond to negative perceptions about the economy and in this instance were labelled as (1) ‘dissatisfied’. The middle value (5) indicates (2) ‘neutral’ and finally higher values (6-10), signifies that respondents are (3) ‘satisfied’ with regards the current state of the economy. The remaining categories ‘refusal’, ‘don’t know’ and ‘no answer’ were dropped, as again, there were too few respondents to form a new category for analysis. Similarly, when examining this variable in the regression model at a later stage, the value 1 ‘dissatisfied’, will be used as a reference category.

**Method**

This thesis will use descriptive statistics in order to test H1, whereas an ordered logistic regression (OLR) will be used to test H2, as well as further test H1. The OLR will determine which independent variables have a statistically significant influence on the dependent variables. More specifically, the OLR will measure the effect of X (independent variables) on Y (dependent variables) in relation to every one-unit change of X. Further, the OLR will also contain a step-wise modelling approach, where firstly the models will test for one independent variable (essround) in order to provide initial evidence of changing attitudes in relation to each of the dependent variables. Then other controls (including essround) will be added to each model in order to determine if changes (in essround) actually take place as a result of the crisis or not. There are certain assumptions or conditions that need to be satisfied in order to successfully run an OLR for the results to be valid. In particular, the dependent variable or variables need to be measured on an ordinal scale (eg have Likert measures). Further, each dependent or outcome variable must also have more than two categories, where the values of such categories can be ranked but the distance is unknown between such categories. The four dependent variables used in this study satisfies the aforementioned requirements and in particular each variable is measured on an ordinal scale with Likert measures. Further, the distance between the four
categories concerning the first two dependent variables varies and more specifically, the distance between ‘allow none’ and ‘allow a few’ may be greater than the distance between ‘allow some’ and ‘allow many’ and in this regard the distance between such categories can be considered unknown. Similarly, the remaining dependent variables also have four categories with varying unknown distances between values and in particular the distances between ‘Bad for economy/country’ and ‘Neutral’ may be greater than the values ‘Good for economy/country’ and ‘Does not know’. The category ‘Does not know’ will be removed from the dependent variables three and four when running the OLR at a later stage in order to establish a hierarchical order between the categories.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Descriptive Statistics**

The first dependent variable refers to whether participants would consider allowing immigrants based on a different identity and ethnicity as the native group to come and live in Portugal. The number of respondents who participated in each respective survey concerning the first dependent variable diverges. It was N=1332 in 2002, N= 1949 in 2006 and finally N=1954 in 2012. The results are presented in Fig 4, and when examining the first category, ‘allow none’, which is a response that represents the most negative attitudes and resistance towards immigrants, it is apparent that the percentage of respondents to this category has increased between the years 2002 (24%) and 2006 (32%). However, between 2006 and 2012 (32%), there is no difference concerning responses when compared to the previous round. Investigating the second category, ‘allow a few’, which also represents negativity and resistance towards immigrants, albeit to a lesser degree, it is apparent that there has been a decrease in relation to the percentage of responses to this category between 2002 (39%) and 2006 (34%), however in 2012 (33%) there was no considerable change when compared to 2006. Inspecting the category ‘allow some’, which represents more positivity and acceptance towards immigrants, it is evident that there has been a slight decline in relation to the percentage of participant responses to this category between the years 2002 (32%) and 2006 (29%), where in 2012 (29%) there is no difference from the previous round. Finally, the category that is most favourable towards immigrants ‘allow many’ exhibits no considerable change in the percentage of respondents between 2002 (5%), 2006 (4%), and 2012 (6%). It is apparent that this category has received the least amount of respondents in each round.
It is evident from the empirical data concerning the first dependent variable displayed in Fig 4, that there has been a slight increase in resistance towards immigrants of a different race/ethnic group as the majority in Portugal and most noticeably between 2002 and 2006. However, between 2006 and 2012 there is no major change in relation to attitudes with each respective category and the percentage of respondents does not change considerably in the given surveys as predicted. The assumptions of H1 are not fully met in this instance, where it appears that there has been a slight increase in resistance towards immigration between 2002 and 2006, which essentially indicates a small rise in prejudice. However, there are no noteworthy changes in attitudes during the economic crisis, when it was predicted that competition would have intensified considerably between groups.

The second dependent variable asks the question if participants are willing to allow immigrants from poorer countries outside of Europe to come live in Portugal. The number of respondents who participated in each respective survey varies, where N=1319 in 2002, N= 1943 in 2006 and finally N=1957 in 2012. The findings are displayed in Fig 5, and when examining the category ‘allow none’, it is apparent that there has been an increase with regards the percentage of responses during the years 2002 (23%), 2006 (31%) and 2012 (38%). Overall, when investigating the three respective years, there appears to be an increasing trend in the percentage of participants who are not willing to allow
any immigrants to come live in Portugal, which is most pronounced in 2012 when compared to previous years. Examining the category ‘allow a few’, it is evident that there has been a decrease in the percentage of participant responses between 2002 (41%), 2006 (35%) and 2012 (31%). Respondents who are willing to allow few immigrants also indicates a form of resistance to immigration, although to a lesser degree when compared to the previous category. Inspecting the next category ‘allow some’, indicates greater acceptance and a more positive attitude towards immigrants, it is apparent there has been a decrease in the percentage of participants who are more positive towards immigration between the years 2002 (31%), 2006 (29%) and 2012 (25%). Finally, the category that is most favourable towards immigrants “allow many” exhibits no noteworthy percentage change between 2002 (5%), 2006 (5%) and 2012 (6%).

It is apparent when reviewing the empirical data from the second dependent variable displayed in Fig 5, that there were increasing trends with regards rising prejudice over each respective survey. This indicates resistance among participants who are willing to allow immigrants from poorer countries outside of Europe to come live in Portugal. In particular, this was most evident when examining the apparent trends from the category “allow none” and to a lesser extent the categories, “allow few” and “allow some”. This is in line with H1, where the prognosis indicated that negative attitudes would be
most pronounced in 2012 when compared to previous years. This is essentially a consequence of the economic crisis and ultimately H1 can be affirmed with regards the second dependent variable. It is plausible that resistance and prejudice are more pronounced when compared to the previous variable when considering this category of immigrant. More specifically, immigrants from poorer countries outside of Europe could also be perceived as being poor and possible greater sources of threat to various areas concerned with the economy and society in Portugal.

The third dependent variable asks the question if participants consider immigration as something that is bad or good for the economy in Portugal. The number of respondents who participated in each respective survey fluctuates. It was N=1416 in 2002, N= 2065 in 2006 and finally N=2037 in 2012. The results are presented in Fig 6, and when investigating the category ‘Bad for the economy’, it is apparent that there has been a slight increase in the percentage of participant responses between the years 2002 (35%) and 2006 (36%). However, hereafter there is a substantial increase in the percentage of respondents in this category, where in 2012, 49% or just under half of all those who participated in the 2012/2013 survey perceived immigration in a negative manner.

Fig 6

Inspecting the category ‘Neutral’, it is evident that there has been no noteworthy changes in relation
to participant responses between the years 2002 (20%), 2006 (18%), and 2012 (21%). Examining the category ‘Good for economy’, it is apparent there is a decreasing trend in relation to the percentage of participant responses between the years 2002 (39%) 2006 (34%) and 2012 (28%). Finally, the response ‘does not know’ exhibits no noteworthy change concerning the percentage of respondents between 2002 (13%) and 2006 (12%), however there was a decline in 2012 (6%).

When reviewing the empirical data from the third dependent variable displayed in Fig 6, the trends indicate that attitudes towards immigrants have become slightly more negative between 2002 and 2006 in relation to the economy. However, the most noticeable increase in negativity towards immigrants was between 2006 and 2012. The categories that exhibit the most apparent trends that indicate increased prejudice towards immigrants in relation to the economy are “Bad for economy” and ‘Good for the economy”. This is again in line with H1, where the prognosis indicated that negative attitudes would become most pronounced in 2012 when compared to other years, which is a consequence of the economic crisis and ultimately H1 can be affirmed with regards the third dependent variable. It is plausible that resistance and prejudice are more pronounced in later years towards immigration given the nature of this variable and the economic conditions that existed at the time.

The fourth and final dependent variable asks the question if immigrants make Portugal a worse or better place to live. The number of respondents who participated in each respective survey differs, where N=1416 in 2002, N= 2065 in 2006 and finally N=2037 in 2012. The findings are presented in Fig 7, and when examining the category ‘Bad for the country’, it is apparent that the percentage of respondents in this category were very high in 2002 (53%) but declined in 2006 (40%) and rose again in 2012 (54%). There has been an increase in relation to the percentage of participant responses to the category ‘Neutral’ between the years 2002 (29%) and 2006 (31%), however there has been a decline in 2012 (28%). Investigating the category ‘Good for the country’ it is evident there has been an increase in relation to the percentage of participant responses between the years 2002 (11%) and 2006 (18%), however between 2006 and 2012 (12%) there is a decrease in this instance. Finally, the category ‘does not know’ exhibits a slight increase in respondents from 2002 (9%) and 2006 (11%), however, in 2012 (5%) there is a decrease in this instance.
It is evident when reviewing the empirical data from the fourth dependent variable displayed in Fig 7, that overall, perceptions of immigrants were quite negative in 2002 before falling in 2006 and again rising in 2012. In particular, the category ‘Bad for country’ for each respective round received the highest percentage of respondents. The second category which exhibits the most apparent trends that indicate negativity towards immigrants in relation to the society in Portugal is the category ‘good for country’. The number of respondents increased from 2002 to 2006 and then fell again in 2012 indicating the percentage of respondents that considered immigrants as good for the country declined slightly during the period of the economic crisis. The trends from the fourth dependent variable are not in line with the main assumption of H1. In particular, the prognosis indicated that negative attitudes would become most pronounced in 2012 when compared to previous years as a consequence of the economic crisis. Thus H1 can not be fully affirmed with regards the fourth dependent variable as levels of prejudice were almost identical when comparing 2012 to 2002. This was particularly evident when investigating the category ‘Bad for the country’ which exhibited a large percentage of respondents in 2002. One possible explanation for this is immigration was at its highest around this period (2002) (see Fig 1), which was also in tandem when economic conditions worsened in Portugal. Perhaps respondents were reacting in a negative manner to a combination of such factors, both of
which are known to intensify competition between groups in society, which often result in increasing levels of prejudice. It is apparent that the prognosis for H1 can partly be confirmed when examining the overall responses to the various categories with regards two of the four dependent variables (dependent variables 2 and 3). In the following section more detailed statistical techniques will be used in order to examine the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variables and in particular the main assumptions of H1 will be further tested along with those of H2.

**Ordered Logistic Regression**

In the OLR models, independent variables that have odd ratios with values <1 translates that such variables are more likely to influence attitudes towards immigrants in a more negative manner. On the contrary, independent variables that have odds ratios of >1 indicates that a unit increase of X (independent variable) translates into a greater likelihood that attitudes towards immigrants will be influenced in a more positive way. Further, the coefficients presented in the subsequent sections are all statistically significant, unless otherwise indicated. The first OLR (Model 1A) (see table 1) examines the impact of the given time periods (essround) on the first dependent variable, where the base year for comparison is 2006, which will be further used as a reference group in each respective model concerning this independent variable. As compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive (1.26) in 2002. In contrast, attitudes in 2012 (0.95) are more negative than in 2006 and 2002, but the difference is not statistically significant on this occasion.

Once again, the impact of time (essround) was tested on the first dependent variable in order to highlight any changes when controls are added (Model 1B). When compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive in 2002 (1.23), where in contrast, attitudes in 2012 (0.95), are more negative than in 2006 and 2002. The odds ratio for the age of respondents is (0.97), which indicates that as individuals get older they are more likely to possess negative attitudes towards immigrants, but it must be noted that the influence is slight on this occurrence. The coefficient for agesq is (1.00), which specifies there is no significant change in attitudes towards immigrants in relation to this variable. The odds ratio for the gender of respondents is (0.87), which highlights that females are more likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. The coefficient for respondents years of education is (1.07), which means that as respondents years in education increase there is a greater possibility that attitudes towards immigrants will be more positive and vice versa in this regard.
## Determinants which influence attitudes towards immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>(MODEL 1A)</th>
<th>(MODEL 2A)</th>
<th>(MODEL 3A)</th>
<th>(MODEL 4A)</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Essround</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1.23***</td>
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<td>0.012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondents subjective perception of household Income</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref= Living comfortably on present income</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coping on present income</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.75***</td>
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<td>0.68***</td>
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<td>Very difficult living on present income</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.58***</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.49***</td>
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</table>

*p < 0.1, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01
‘Living comfortably on present income’ was used as a reference group in the OLR model for respondents subjective perception of their household Income, which will be further used as a reference category in each respective model when concerned with this independent variable. The odds ratios for the other categories are ‘coping on present income’ (0.75), ‘difficulty on present income’ (0.68) and ‘very difficult on present income’ (0.51). The results indicate that individuals who are struggling to greater degrees with household income are most likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and there is a considerable difference between higher and lower categories in this regard.

‘Dissatisfied’ was used as a reference group in the OLR model for respondents subjective perception of the national economy, which will also be repeated in each respective model. The coefficients for this variable are ‘neutral’ (1.29) and (1.58) for ‘satisfied’ and this indicates that individuals who are more optimistic about the state of the economy are likely to hold positive attitudes towards immigrants.

When reviewing the results from models 1A and 1B, it is apparent that many of the independent variables had an influence on the first dependent variable. In particular, it was evident that attitudes towards immigrants of a different race/ethnicity were more negative in 2012 when compared to both 2006 and 2002. It was also apparent that older respondents, females and those who had less education were more likely to hold higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants. Moreover, respondents who were struggling with regards household income were likely to have the most negative attitudes towards immigrants, which became less pronounced with improved perceptions of household income. Finally, those who had pessimistic perceptions with regards the state of the economy were more likely to have higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants of this category and vice versa in this instance.

Model 2A controls for the main variable of interest, whereas Model 2B introduces other covariates in relation to the second dependent variable. When examining the impact of time (essround) on the second dependent variable (Model 2A), it is apparent that when compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive in 2002 (1.24), where in contrast attitudes in 2012 (0.76) are more negative when compared to both 2006 and 2002. The impact of time (essround) was tested on the second dependent variable once again in order to highlight any differences when controls are added (Model 2B). When compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive in 2002 (1.22), where in contrast attitudes in 2012 (0.76) are more negative than in 2006 and 2002.

The odds ratios for the age of respondents is (0.96), which shows that as individuals get older they are more likely to possess negative attitudes towards immigrants that come from poorer countries outside of Europe. The coefficient for agesq is (1.00) which specifies there is no significant change
in attitudes regarding this variable. The odds ratio for gender is (0.87), which highlights that females are more likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. The coefficient for respondents years of education is (1.06), which specifies that as respondents years in education increase, there is a greater possibility that attitudes towards immigrants will be more positive and vice versa in this instance.

The odds ratios for respondents subjective perception of their household income are ‘coping on present income’ (0.74), ‘difficulty on present income’ (0.68) and ‘very difficult on present income’ (0.48), when compared to the reference category. Again, the results indicate that individuals who are struggling to greater degrees with household income are most likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and there is a considerable difference between higher and lower categories in this regard. The coefficients for respondents subjective perception of the national economy are (1.35) for ‘neutral’ and (1.49) for ‘satisfied’ when compared to the reference category. This highlights that respondents who are pessimistic about the state of the economy are more likely to hold greater prejudice towards immigrants of this category.

When reviewing the results from models 2A and 2B, it was apparent that respondents attitudes towards immigrants from poorer countries outside of Europe were considerably more negative in 2012 when compared to 2006 and 2002. It was also evident that many of the independent variables had almost an identical influence (age of respondent, gender, respondents years of education) on the second dependent variable when compared to results from models one and two. In particular, older respondents, females and the less educated had the most pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants of this category. When examining respondents subjective perception of their household income and respondents subjective perception of the national economy, it was apparent once again that the more negatively respondents perceived their household income as well as the state of the economy, the greater likelihood such respondents would possess negative attitudes towards immigrants of this category.

Model 3A controls for the main variable of interest, whereas Model 3B introduces other covariates in relation to the third dependent variable. Examining the impact of time (essround) on the third dependent variable (Model 3A), it is apparent that when compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive in 2002 (1.02), but the difference is not statistically significant in this instance. In contrast, attitudes in 2012 (0.56) are substantially more negative when compared to 2006 and 2002. Once again, the impact of the time variable (essround) was tested on the third dependent variable in order to highlight any changes when controls are added (Model 3B). When compared to
2006, attitudes towards immigrants are more positive in 2002 (1.01), but the difference is not statistically significant on this occasion, however, in contrast attitudes in 2012 (0.56) are considerably more negative when compared to previous years.

The odds ratio for the age of respondents is (0.99), however, the difference is not statistically significant on this occurrence. The coefficient for agesq is (1.00), which indicates there is no change concerning attitudes towards immigrants with this variable. Similarly, the odds ratio for gender is (0.81), which specifies that females are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants on this occasion. The coefficient for respondents years of education is (1.08), which means that as respondents years in education increase, there is a greater possibility that attitudes towards immigrants will be more positive and vice versa in this instance. The odds ratios for respondents subjective perception of their household income are ‘coping on present income’ (0.65), ‘difficulty on present income’ (0.58) and ‘very difficult on present income’ (0.46), when compared to the reference category. The results mean that individuals who are struggling to greater degrees with household income are most likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and again there is a substantial difference between higher and lower categories. The coefficients for respondents subjective perception of the national economy are (1.45) for ‘neutral’ and (1.75) for ‘satisfied’ when compared to the reference category. This shows that individuals who are more optimistic about the state of the economy are likely to hold more positive attitudes towards immigrants.

When reviewing the results from Models 3A and 3B it was evident that the impact of (essround) on the third dependent variable was strong in 2012. More specifically attitudes towards immigrants in relation to the economy where substantially more negative in 2012 when compared to 2006. It was also apparent that yet again many of the independent variables had an influence on the third dependent variable. In particular, females, and the less educated tended to hold higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants of this category. Similarly, when examining respondents subjective perception of their household income and respondents subjective perception of the national economy, it was apparent that the more negatively respondents perceived their household income as well as the state of the economy, the greater probability such respondents would hold higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants. It must be noted that attitudes towards immigrants were most negative in 2012 when examining the impact of time on the third dependent variable. It is conceivable that attitudes have become most negative toward immigrants during this period given the nature of this question, which is essentially how respondents feel about immigrants impact on the economy. One possible explanation of prejudice being most pronounced in the given model is perceptions of threat among the native population may have become exacerbated as a result of worsening economic conditions in
Portugal during this time period.

Model 4A controls for the main variable of interest, whereas Model 4B introduces other covariates in relation to the fourth and final dependent variable. Examining the impact of the time variable (essround) on the fourth dependent variable (Model 4A), it is apparent that when compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are considerably more negative in 2002 (0.65). Similarly, attitudes in 2012 (0.61), are more negative when compared to 2006 and 2002. The impact of the time variable (essround) was tested on the fourth dependent variable once more in order to highlight any differences when controls are added (Model 4B). When compared to 2006, attitudes towards immigrants are negative in 2002 (0.65). Similarly, attitudes in 2012 (0.66) are more negative than in 2006, however this is not the case when compared to 2002.

The coefficient for the age of respondents is (0.98), indicating that attitudes towards immigrants become slightly more negative as respondents get older. The odds ratio for agesq is (1.00), which shows there is no significant change in attitudes towards immigrants in relation to this variable. The coefficient for gender is (0.95), which specifies that females are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants, however the difference is not statistically significant in this instance. The odds ratio for respondents years of education is (1.05), which means that as respondents years in education increase there is a greater possibility that attitudes towards immigrants will be more positive and vice versa in this regard. The coefficients for respondents subjective perception of their household income are ‘coping on present income’ (0.71), ‘difficulty on present income’ (0.62) and ‘very difficult on present income’ (0.49), when compared to the reference category. The results highlight that respondents who are struggling to greater degrees with household income are most likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants and again there is an extensive difference between higher and lower categories. The odds ratios for respondents subjective perception of the national economy are (1.51) for ‘neutral’ and (2.32) for ‘satisfied’, when compared to the reference category. This indicates that individuals who are more optimistic about the state of the economy are more likely to hold positive attitudes towards immigrants and vice versa.

When reviewing the results from models 4A and 4B, it was evident that respondents attitudes towards immigrants in relation to the society in Portugal were more negative in 2012 when compared to 2006. Yet again, it was apparent that many of the independent variables had an influence (the age of respondents, respondents years of education,) on the fourth dependent variable. In particular, older respondents, and the less educated tended to hold the most pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. It was evident once more that the more negatively respondents perceived their household
income as well as the state of the economy the greater likelihood such respondents would possess higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants.

Overall, when reviewing the trends from the graphs as well as the data from the OLR models, it is apparent that there is sufficient evidence to support and confirm the main assumptions of H1. In particular, it appears that attitudes towards immigrants in Portugal have indeed become more negative in 2012 when compared to previous years and this is most likely a consequence of the economic crisis. This was particularly evident when examining various trends from the graphs with regards the second and third dependent variables as well as investigating the impact of the time variable \textit{essround} in the OLR models on all dependent variables. Similarly, there is evidence to support and confirm the main assumptions of H2, when examining the data from the OLR models. In particular, it was apparent that those who had less education were more likely to have pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. Respondents who have less education are more likely to have lower socioeconomic status and as a consequence are most likely to find themselves in greater competition with immigrants in a whole array of areas in society. In particular, the lower skilled sectors (construction, manufacturing, etc) held the highest concentrations of natives from lower socioeconomic (lower levels of education etc) groups as well as immigrant groups and such sectors were subsequently worst impacted by the crisis in terms of job losses. This process invariably exacerbates competition for the unemployed in such industries and in particular when finding employment opportunities. Further, if a person is still working in such employment sectors, holding on to one’s job is of the utmost importance and perceptions of threats from immigrants due to increased competition heightens levels of prejudice among natives as a result. Moreover, natives from the low skilled sectors most severely impacted by the crisis who subsequently became unemployed, may perceive immigrants as a greater threat in the area of welfare as unemployment levels among immigrants were also very high during this period and ultimately competition has increased over such resources. Contrary to H2, females were more likely to hold higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants when compared to males. It is not entirely certain why this is the case as the employment sectors that were worst impacted by the crisis were predominantly concentrated with male workers (construction, manufacturing etc). Female dominated employment sectors (service industry, hospitality, cleaning etc) were also impacted by the crisis but to a lesser degree. However, such conditions could also possibly account for high levels of prejudice among females when compared to males in this regard.

Respondents who were struggling to greater degrees in relation to household income had exhibited more pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. Many respondents that fall into such a
category often have a lower socioeconomic position in society and are thus more likely to find themselves in greater competition with immigrants over a range of aforementioned resources. Further, respondents who are in such a category may also have personal financial worries and could perceive immigrants as an economic threat in relation to various aspects of their lives. Finally, respondents who were more pessimistic about the national economy showed the most pronounced levels of prejudice towards immigrants. Respondents who are located in such a category are perhaps more likely to perceive immigrants as an economic threat to themselves, their families, friends and generally people from the same nationality as them and heightened prejudice is a reaction to such perceived threats.

The variable age of respondents was not included in H2, however it must be noted that the results from the OLR concerning this variable were not in line with the general assumptions of RGCT. In particular, older respondents possessed higher levels of prejudice towards immigrants, which becomes more pronounced with age and this is interesting as levels of youth unemployment were very high in Portugal over the given time period. It is possible that older individuals as well as those who are retired have developed prejudice towards immigrants during their years in the labour market. It is also conceivable that the views of individuals may become more conservative as they age and in particular when concerning issues which are related to immigration. Finally, when reviewing the results from the OLR there was an interesting finding that should be mentioned. In particular, this study showed that there were no effects of the changing composition of the population in relation to the increase of groups with potentially more negative attitudes towards immigrants as the results of calendar period remained the same when controls were added in the OLR.
This thesis has attempted to answer the primary research question and it is apparent from the results that indeed, attitudes towards immigrants have changed in light of worsening economic conditions in Portugal during three different (2002-2006-2012) time periods. In particular, it was evident that the most noticeable change in attitudes towards immigrants occurred in light of the most recent economic crisis. The main assumptions of H1 were tested, which were essentially related to the primary research question. In particular, H1 which was derived from RGCT at a macro level, predicted that attitudes towards immigrants in Portugal would become more negative in light of worsening economic conditions and most significantly during the economic crisis, which is essentially a consequence of actual competition between groups becoming intensified. This was particularly true when examining various trends from the graphs with regards the second and third dependent variables as well as investigating the impact of the time variable essround in the OLR models on all dependent variables.

Further, this study attempted to answer the secondary research question, which was, what are the determinants which influence attitudes towards immigrants in Portugal over the same time period? It was evident that the independent variables, the age of respondents, gender, respondents years of education, respondents subjective perception of their household income and respondents subjective perception of the national economy had a considerable influence on determining whether respondents were more likely to hold either positive or negative attitudes towards immigrants. Similarly, the main assumptions of H2 were tested, which were related to the secondary question. In particular, H2 which was derived from RGCT at a micro level, predicted that natives who are in greater competition with immigrants will possess the most pronounced negative attitudes as they perceive immigrants as a greater threat to scarce resources in society. It was evident that natives who were more likely to be in greater competition (respondents with less education, those struggling with household income and individuals who were pessimistic about the economy) with immigrants did possess the most pronounced levels of prejudice and this was particularly evident when examining the influence of three out of the five independent variables on all of the dependent variables in the OLR models.

The ESS round 7 for 2014/2015 has just been published with survey data from 15 countries excluding Portugal. The data for the remaining countries will be published in the coming months and it would be interesting to examine the most recent period for Portugal and to scrutinise whether attitudes have become even more negative as the economic crisis has continued to mature during this time. For future studies, it would perhaps be interesting to examine the influence of other independent variables...
on the chosen dependent variables from this study in order to give a more nuanced understanding of prejudice between groups and the other various elements which contribute to such a phenomenon.

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